TL6962-2

XANANA GUSMÃO

Supplementary extracts from defence statement

Público, May 22, 1993 (p.4)

(...) On that date [31.5.1976, the date a petition for integration was signed by Arnaldo Araújo and Guilherme Gonçalves], two resolutions were passed at the UN, one by the GA [General Assembly], affirming the right of the People of ET [East Timor] to self-determination and national independence, and two at the Security Council, condemning the invasion of 7.12.75 and demanding the immediate and total withdrawal of the Indonesian invading forces.

I hereby publicly cast doubt on the conscious free-will of both Arnaldo Araújo and Guilherme Gonçalves. I know that Arnaldo Araújo appeared confused, throughout the latter years of his life, with the integration process, and not only that, he was also repentant of having been the docile instrument of Indonesian propaganda. We also have cases like that of one Abel Belo, of Baukau, of one João Martins, a member of the Apodeti praesidium, murdered by poisoning, having been stripped of the privileges of integration, because he had repented of having contributed in the invasion and occupation of his fatherland and in the massacre of his brothers.

As for Guilherme Gonçalves, I also cast doubt on his conscious free-will, because this man was one of the pioneers of my networks abroad.

(...) Mr Peter Kojmans was the "repourter" [sic, rapporteur(?)] for the UN, sent to ET, with the agreement of Jakarta, to investigate in loco the [unintelligible] violation of Human Rights in the territory, a violation always denied by Indonesia in the UN forums. During that man's stay, who had come with a mission to monitor the situation, a massacre is carried out in cold blood. The bodies of the victims are thrown like sandbags into the vehicles. In the military hospital, where the victims are taken, more young people are murdered than were alive.

The corpses have disappeared until today, or rather, they were thrown into common graves. Where, only the authorities should know! In this room, there are many murderers, men of the Kopasus [red berets], men from Intel [political police], the men of terror, the men on whom depends the whole of peaceful life in ET, indeed of the whole of Indonesia!

After the crime, ET is once more closed to the world and the activities of Intel are revived. (...) Of what or of whom are the military occupation authorities afraid? Of a defenceless population? Of a population which you gentlemen say is satisfied with integration? To terrorise whom?

2. Prospects for a solution

As at the UN, Jakarta cannot disassociate itself from the fact that Portugal is an interested party in the solution of the problem, Jakarta must never forget that the Maubere have already demonstrated that the idea, that the aim for which they have fought and resisted until now is immortal, which is enshrined in the first of the difficulties, in the sacrifices consented to, in the [unintelligible].

Men die, but the idea remains dormant, like every ideal. This is the crux of the matter. If the Indonesian government does not know, the Bais [military intelligence] knows only too well. The witness Saturnino da Costa Belo [who cheered for independence in open court] is a flagrant example of the heroism of this People. The farce of the hurried medical certificate, stating that Saturnino was ill, should make all you gentlemen present here ashamed, because you well know that the question lies here. (...)

XANANA GUSMÃO (Supp.) Cont.

(...) Another political slogan frequently used by government leaders is: the era of globalisation. (...) The universal values of law and freedom, the international standards of justice and of peace must continue to prevail and I am certain they will prevail. In the verdict of the Council of Judges, one can read: "Considering that the Council of Judges, in this penal case, should never intervene in the political and international affairs of any nation, this may not be within their judicial competence".

The Council of Judges is contradicting itself, when it intends to try me for supposed crimes against the Indonesian state, because the problem of ET lies precisely in the fact that it continues to be an international political issue.

(...) I could never recognise the criminal annexation of ET, just in order to live a few years longer. My struggle is over and above my own life. The People of ET have given their lives and continue to suffer.

[I continue to recall here the need for dialogue, with the participation of the Timorese.
(...)
...and never towards the murderers of my People.]
[See p.12 of Xanana Gusmão (main statement)]

(...) Under International Law, according to the UN resolutions, ET is still under Portuguese administration. With the new Indonesian ambassador to the UN, Mr. Noeproho, we discussed the issue of East Timor in this context; in any case, we cannot disassociate ourselves from this context, because we would fail in our calculations, in our forecasts or analyses. It is in this context that ET continues to be a bloodstained [unintelligible word written over "headache"] for the Indonesian government before the UN and before the community of nations.

I have received flattery of all kinds for being here a "docile Indonesian", as they had to feign being witnesses present here. I know that behind me, the men of the Bais and the Kopasus are gnashing their teeth with rage. They should gnash their teeth with shame for being the true murderers of the Maubere People.

(...) The People of East Timor have suffered too much for me to deny that suffering.

Minister Ali Alatas, in his speech last January, stated this: "If we do not accept it, i.e. if Jakarta does not accept the referendum, it is not because we are afraid of eventually losing such an act, but because many people have already suffered"!

On the other hand, the ambassador to the UN told me: "The problem is that dialogue, in our understanding (therefore Jakarta's understanding), has its own parameters. We do not accept the referendum!"

In 1983, during the cease-fire period, the then majors [unintelligible] stated plainly: "We do not accept the referendum because we know all the People are with Fretilin!"

At the Bais, two or three times, I was asked questions like this: "You expected the Portuguese parliamentary delegation. Do you guarantee that what you intended to do was the will of the majority of the People?"

Why then did they fear such an event? Why did they fill ET with fresh troops who occupied all the roads, and occupied all the villages? Why did Jakarta, at the last minute, block the visit by that parliamentary mission?

XANANA GUSMÃO (Supp.) Cont.

Who is afraid of the referendum? Why are they afraid of the referendum? I am not afraid of the referendum, and if today, under international supervision, the Maubere People chooses integration, I shall make a real appeal to my companions in the bush to lay down their arms and I shall offer my head for public execution.

Whoever is afraid of the referendum is afraid of the truth! The elections in East Timor have all been merely the continuation of the occupier's farce. (...)

Why all this military display in front of the disgraceful Court, why are armed soldiers positioned on the route [for Xanana between the prison and the Court], with their guns pointed (...)?

(...) Politically, the so-called integration is lacking some act which would prove that the people's verdict is made in complete freedom.

Economically, the idea is false that ET has no guarantees for its own development. The agreement on Timor Gap merely demonstrated that Indonesia and Australia practise the same policy of looting, as an objective for expansionism for one and as a motive for complicity for the other.

ET, which is committed to being a weapon-free State, i.e. without an Army, will never be even a danger for the great and powerful Indonesian nation, endowed with a respectable military [machine?].

I repeat, East Timor is not breaking away from the great Indonesian nation, with whom it is on the best of terms. International Law does not make exceptions for size, nor for any other conditions which a particular territory has. My people reject the annexation and are opposed to this situation of brutal control and repression.